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An apprenticeship system had earlier been set up, with an Indian assigned to each artisan as assistant and understudy. Nickerson noted in 1882 that while "[the apprentices] are doing as well as uneducated Indians can be expected to do, not one of them . . . has had any school training, and but one can write his name."[17] Presently schoolboys began to take over some of these positions.

Many factors bore upon the effectiveness of the teaching. Elderly individuals today can recall the first bewildered days at school—sometimes relieved by the kindness of such teachers as one nicknamed by the children "Hummingbird"—but at best it was a difficult experience. "Nine tenths of them," wrote Emery of the newcomers, "know nothing of [English]. At first, when called to recite, they will dart under the seats, and have to be coaxed and helped from their hiding places by the hand of the teacher."[18] Not always was such tenderness displayed. Although one man, now deceased, recalled a generally pleasant experience and the kindnesses of matrons and teachers,[19] a contemporary bitterly recollected:

> In school they didn't allow us to talk in Klamath. We were punished if they caught us talking in Klamath. They would make us hold up a stick with our hands high. Sometimes they would make an older boy hold a fence rail on his back and walk around a tree stump. Sometimes one whole hour at a time. I never had to do that. Sometimes I would see the teacher or principal whip a boy with a good-sized willow. Sometimes they would make the boy take off his shirt and then the boy would never get over it. I felt that sometimes we boys should get together and give the teacher a whipping to see how he liked it. In the old Klamath days, the parents would switch the child on the legs or sometimes on his butt, but never that way—hard like that. . . .
>
> At school I had it pretty tough. I was cold and hungry. When we made noise at table, we had to be punished without any food. I had to take food from the table. Fish at night. The children had to steal apples.

Detailed as meatcutter, he recalls that the choicest cuts went to employees, the necks and ribs to the children. And he concludes, "I learned how to steal at school to keep from going hungry."[20]

There were games and ice skating, and the brass band. For the adolescents there were illicit sexual adventures. Some children

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the part of the Indians."[26] The issue was not successfully reopened until the administration of O. C. Applegate.

In the education for a new life which the schools essayed to impart—and this, against all diversions, was its chief task—the caliber of the teaching staff was crucial. It is difficult to evaluate the accomplishments of the teachers, for some were relatives or longtime friends of the Agent; and the adverse criticisms of such men as Emery sometimes cloak differences in educational outlook. Scattered through the records are remarks on the lack of prior school or Indian service experience. In one staff evaluation appears a notation on Thomas Davis, industrial teacher, "recommended by Governor Penoyer as his nephew. He is learning and is prepared to do better in the future."[27] Of another, J. W. Brandenberg, superintendent and principal teacher at the Yainax school, it was observed, "He has maintained good discipline in this School, though his methods of punishment may have been considered a little severely by the Department; he having resorted to the shackles in extreme cases. . . ."[28] These are commendatory remarks. Brandenberg was later removed by order of the Commissioner.

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An extreme instance was detailed by E. L. Applegate in charges against Col. H. B. Compson, the Superintendent of the Agency School. After describing the squalor of his residence, Applegate proceeds:

> As an example of the civilized White men, he could and did knock down his wife in the presence of the school girls while, at the same time, their daughter, the assistant matron, belabored him over the head with a wagon whip. The matron herself was an invalid, but of sufficient spite and vim; as to inflict scars on different parts of the bodies of school girls, and even upon their faces and heads.[29]

In the light of conflicts over educational and disciplinary practices and the frequent partisanship, it is not surprising that there should have been a high turnover of staff. The Superintendent of the Agency boarding school noted in 1892 that over the previous seven years there had been on the average a change in Superintendent every six months, and that there was marked insubordination among the scholars.[30] Eight years later, the

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Superintendent of the school at Yainax was more explicit. Acknowledging that it may occasionally have been necessary to resort to forbidden disciplinary measures, he added:

> When the Indians find that they cannot tantalize a careworn employee into doing something rash and thus secure his discharge, it will be easier to get along with a minimum of severity. . . . This is entirely impossible without occasional resort to force. Interest, where no object is visible, must sometimes be bolstered up by respect for physical force.

And he observed tersely, "I find some lack of training in employees and a good deal of smiling and obedient inertia."[31]

It had been the very purpose of the school to break with the past and thus shape the future. When the school prevented girls from participating in the puberty ritual and the boys from going on the vision quest, the break was sharp. When it exalted the virtues of hard work, it provided a reassuring continuity, albeit fortuitous, with the native exhortations. Many practices prohibited in the schools were merely suspended, to be resumed upon graduation.

To the old skills, however, new abilities were added. Nickerson had long ago suggested that apprentices such as young Jesse Kirk, "one of our oldest and most advanced school boys," be issued tools, after working out their value in the Agency shops, and thus be prepared at once to earn their living and to provide for their people services hitherto available only from the Agency.[32] Others had been trained to farm or ranch and to keep house; and all had learned in some measure to speak English, to read, to do simple arithmetic, and had at least an acquaintance with history and geography.

Beyond those competencies lay a precipitate of experience—for most children the first intimate experience—with the Agency. They had been subjected to a detailed and vigilant regimen which left few things private; and the chief lesson of the encounter for some was that there are ways to circumvent authority. To many, the governing white was symbolized for years in the face of a Miss "Hummingbird" or in the formidable visage of a Colonel Compson.